

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

*memo checked*

TO:

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X (W/O Atch)		
2	DDCI		X (W/O Atch)		
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS				
5	DDI				
6	DDA				
7	DDO	X (W/O Atch)			
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OLL				
14	D/PAO				
15	D/PERS				
16	VC/NIC				
17	AC/PPS		X (W/Attachment)		
18	ES		X (W/O Atch)		
19					
20					
21					
22					

SUSPENSE 14 Jun 86  
Date

Remarks (Note: Attachment is description and copy of ANEKS, a political quarterly published in Polish. It was given to DCI)

To # 7: Pls have comments/draft response for DCI upon his return.

Executive Secretary  
30 May 86


Date

3637 (10-81)

Executive Registry	
86-	2408

30 May 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Acting Chief, Political and Psychological Staff  
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence

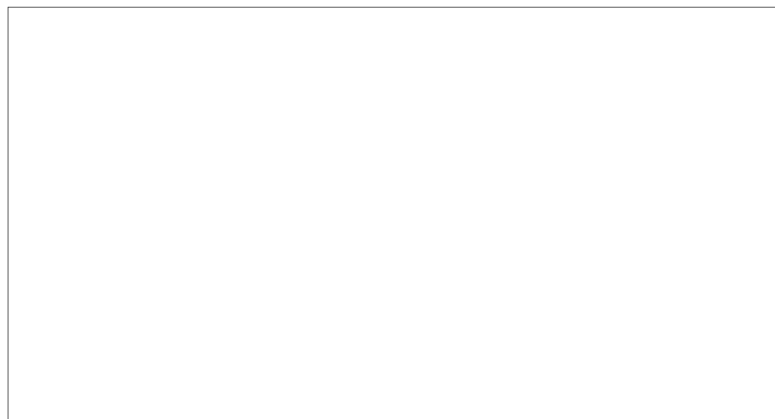
 tried to talk to me about the attached and the amount we would save by dropping it. Let me know how you would respond.

STAT



William J. Casey

Attachment



STAT

**Page Denied**

61 Dorset Road, London W5 4HX, England. Tel: (01) 567 9584

ANEKS - POLITICAL QUARTERLY

ANEKS - PUBLISHERS

### A Short Presentation

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We differ in our views, we do not share the same philosophical allegiance and we do not see the current events in Poland always in the same light. We are united, however, in the conviction that neither mature political consciousness nor rational assessment of the most important issues in Poland and in the Polish diaspora can exist without a knowledge of programmes, analyses, and viewpoints inspired by different traditions of political thinking. That is why we publish Aneks and that is how we publish it - without an ideological axe to grind but with a view to providing good service to an intellectually varied readership and in the liberal spirit of "healthy eclecticism".

(from the Editors' Statement of Aims)

Aneks is a quarterly published in the Polish language and aimed, primarily though not exclusively, at intellectuals and students in Poland. The first issue appeared in June 1973 and the latest (no. 37) in February 1985.

### Intellectual Aims

Aneks is almost exclusively concerned with social, economic and political issues and publishes original articles written by Polish authors both in Poland and in exile as well as translations of essays, articles and book excerpts from Western sources. Aiming at the highest intellectual standards, it tries to bring together the best and the most important writings in both Western and East European social thought. The editors hope that Aneks may thereby prove useful in providing intellectual alternatives to the political system currently prevailing in the East European countries and inspire discussion on those alternatives in Poland.

### Development of the Quarterly

Aneks was launched in 1973 as a rather modest enterprise. Its aim was to publish not only original material but also translations which were considered to be a very important part of the whole venture. Only when those who were later to become editors of Aneks found themselves in the West, did they fully realize the extent to which political censorship in Poland had isolated Polish intelligentsia from

ANEKS QUARTERLY

UNDERGROUND REPRINTS IN POLAND

- individual articles
- selection of articles as published by Aneks
- whole issues reprinted in Poland
- selection of articles from Aneks issues no. 1 - 20.

ANEKS PUBLISHERS

Copies of book-covers published by ANEKS Publishers and reprinted  
underground in Poland

ANEKS QUARTERLY  
CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS ISSUES

No. 1, Spring 1973:

R. Heilbroner - "Sources of Socialist Dilemma", S. Huntington - "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems", M. Djilas - "Communism and the Working Class", G. Moldau - "Inspired by Amalrik", D. M. Nuti - "Social Choice and the Polish Consumer", A. Besançon - "The Great Terror", M. Lasky - "Maxim Gorky - The Shame and the Glory".

No. 2:

A. Tern - "Marxism in Action - Philosophy and Social Sciences vs. Marxism in Poland", Z. Bauman - "The Second Generation Socialism", E. Kohak - "Russia - Fire Next Time?", © "THE LEFT AND UTOPIA": A. Kalm - "The Left and Utopia", A. Koestler - "Anatomy of a Myth", A. Ulam - "Socialism and Utopia", S. Moore - "Utopian Themes in Marx and Mao", L. Kołakowski - "The Concept of the Left" © J. Telesin - "Inside Samizdat".

No.3:

P. Hassner - "Détente: The Other Side". © "THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK EXPERIMENT": A. Kalm - "Introduction", E. Mandel - "The Social, Economic and Political Background of the Czechoslovak Crisis", A. Liehm - "From Culture to Politics", J. Piekalkiewicz - "Public Opinion in Czechoslovakia, April-September 1968", I. Svitak - "Heads Against the Wall", G. Moldau - "A Letter from Prague" © N. Mandelstam - "On the Other Side", Z. Medvedev - "International Cooperation and the Black Office".

No.4:

L. Kołakowski - "The Revolutionary Spirit" © "PROSPECTS FOR A REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE": Z. Bauman - "Social Conflicts in the Eastern European Political system", L. Kołakowski - "In Defence of Revolution", D. Lane - "Discontent and Approval in the Countries of State Socialism", F. Parkin - "Systemic Contradiction and Political Change", R. Aron - "Contribution to discussion", W. Grossman - "Traitors and Victims", A. Solzhenitsyn - "To Live Without Lies".

No.5:

C. Krzysztófor - "Do Poles Need Political Eschatology?", L. Kołakowski - "Why We Need Money", G. Grass - "Seven Theses on Democratic Socialism", H. Arendt - "On Revolution", R. Lowenthal - "Non-Reason and Revolution", J. Hough - "Soviet System: Petrification or Pluralism?", R. Rossanda - "The Lonely Man".

No.6:

A. K. Drucki - "On George Orwell", G. Orwell - "Notes on Nationalism", "The Prevention of Literature", "Catastrophic Gradualism", and other essays translated and sent to us for publication from Poland, T. Harasiuk - "The Semantics of Crime", O. Paz - "The Twilight of Revolution", N. Mandelstam - "My Testament".

Annexe no.3

BOOKS PUBLISHED BY ANEKS

Non-fiction

Documents:

1. "Wypadki czerwcowe i działalność Komitetu Obrony Robotników" ("June 1976 and the Activity of the Workers' Defence Committee"), 24pp.
2. "Czarna księga cenzury PRL" ("The Black Book of Polish Censorship"), vol 1 - 248pp., vol. 2 - 470pp.  

Secret documents smuggled out to the West by an official of the censors' office in Cracow. The first such set of documents showing modus operandi of a Communist regime available in the West since Smoleńsk documents captured during World War II.

"This is a splendid book, the significance of which extends far beyond the immediate context of Poland and illuminates the phenomenon of totalitarianism as a whole." - R. T. Davies, former US Ambassador to Poland.

The Black Book has been smuggled back to Poland and printed in excerpts by the underground Publishing House NOWA, Warsaw, Published in English by Random House, New York, 1984
3. "Apel do społeczeństwa i inne dokumenty Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej KOR" ("An Appeal to Society and Other Documents of The Committee for Social Self-Defence KOR"), 12pp.
4. Irena Grudzińska-Gross and Jan T. Gross: "W czterdziestym nas matko na Sybir zesłali" ("In Nineteen-forty They Sent Us to Siberia, Mum..."), 512pp., with analytical introduction by Dr. Jan T. Gross, who is a professor of sociology at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.  

The book is a collection of essays on the Russian occupation of Poland in 1939-1941 and on life in Siberian exile written by children and adults in 1943. Extensive insight into life under communist rule. Published as "War Through Children's Eyes" by Hoover Institution Press, 1981.

Excerpts were reprinted by underground Publishing House NOWA, Warsaw.
5. Barbara Toruńczyk: "Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli politycznej 1985-1905" ("National Democracy. An Anthology of Political Thought"), 320pp.

Barbara Toruńczyk is a member of democratic opposition in Poland; now, Editor-in-chief of the literary quarterly Zeszyty Literackie in Paris. The book was also printed in Poland in underground

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
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September 5, 1985

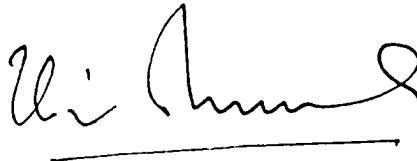
To whom it may concern:

I have been a devoted reader of the political quarterly ANEKS published in England by a group of young Polish intellectuals.

This journal, destined for the intellectual community in Poland, fills a very major void in Polish political literature. It makes accessible to Poland's intellectuals some of the most thought-provoking and important contributions on politics and philosophy, thereby significantly widening the range of political discourse within Poland.

Since its first appearance more than a decade ago, ANEKS has won for itself a devoted group of readers in Poland and has been remarkably effective in penetrating into Poland in spite of efforts by the current Polish regime to prevent its clandestine circulation. It today ranks as one of the most important sources in Poland for independent reflection on political and historical matters.

ANEKS is published through the dedicated and selfless efforts of a small group of young Polish intellectuals who have in recent years left Poland. Their efforts deserve support, and this letter is designed to encourage it.



A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Z. Brzezinski', is written over a horizontal line.